

which will permit them to retain their own sense of dignity, to treat their children aright, and to take their part in the life of the community as good citizens.

Exactly as each of us in his private life must stand up for his own rights and yet must respect the rights of others and acknowledge in practical fashion that he is indeed his brother's keeper, so all of us taken collectively, the people as a whole, must feel our obligation to work by governmental action, and in all other ways possible, to make the conditions better for those who are unfairly pressed down in the fierce competition of modern industrial life.

I ask justice for those who in actual life meet with most injustice—and I ask this not only for their sakes but for our own sakes, for the sake of the children and the children's children who are to come after us.

The children of all of us will pay in the future if we do not do justice in the present.

This country will not be a good place for any of us to

live in if we do not strive with zeal and efficiency to make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in.

Nor can our object be obtained save through the genuine control of the people themselves. The people must rule or gradually they will lose all power of being good citizens. The people must control their own destinies or the power of such control will atrophy.

Our cause is the cause of the plain people. It is the cause of social and industrial justice to be achieved by the plain people through the resolute and conscientious use of all the machinery, public and private, State and National, governmental and individual, which is at their command.

This is a great fight in which we are engaged, for it is a fight for human rights, and we who are making it are really making it for every good citizen of this Republic, no matter to what party he may belong.

Questions

1. By Roosevelt's standards, what constitutes a moral rich man?
2. Why does Roosevelt invoke Abraham Lincoln in this speech?
3. How does Roosevelt define social justice?

20-10 The Progressive Party Platform of 1912

There was nothing ordinary about the Progressive Party's presidential convention, held in Chicago in August 1912. The delegates sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" from the convention floor, Jane Addams seconded the nomination of the candidate, and Theodore Roosevelt delivered an acceptance speech titled "A Confession of Faith." The party platform was no less remarkable, as it blended Roosevelt's view of the future with a deeply ingrained religious passion.

Source: Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, comps., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1964* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966), 175-178.

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's sense of justice. We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain the government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid.

We hold with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln that the people are the masters of their Constitution, to fulfill its purposes and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice. In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must use their sovereign powers to

establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this Government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions and its laws should be utilized, maintained or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest.

It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

THE OLD PARTIES

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people.

From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people.

To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time, have compelled the people to forge a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.

Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

A COVENANT WITH THE PEOPLE

This declaration is our covenant with the people; and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in State and Nation to the pledges made herein.

THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE

The National Progressive party, committed to the principles of government by a self-controlled democracy expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several States and the United States as shall insure the representative character of the government.

In particular, the party declares for direct primaries for the nomination of State and National officers, for nationwide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency; for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; and we urge on the States the policy of the short ballot, with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum and recall.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

The Progressive party, believing that a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people, pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution.

NATION AND STATE

Up to the limit of the Constitution, and later by amendment of the Constitution, if found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual States.

It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several States should by unequal laws in matter of common concern become competing commercial agencies, barter the lives of their children, the health of their women and the safety and well being of their working people for the benefit of their financial interests.

The extreme insistence on States' rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived or to administer the affairs of a union of States which have in all essential respects become one people.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

CORRUPT PRACTICES

We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC SERVICE

We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding federal appointees from holding office in State or National political organizations, or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective State or National officials.

THE COURTS

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

1. That when an Act, passed under the police power of the State, is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution, by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the Act to become law, notwithstanding such decision.

2. That every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an Act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The Progressive party; in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice and by that means to bring about a more general respect for the law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedures and judicial methods.

We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

We also believe that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE

The supreme duty of the Nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and Nation for:

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry;

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations, and the exercise of the public authority of State and Nation, including the Federal Control over interstate commerce, and the taxing power, to maintain such standards;

The prohibition of child labor;

Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations;

The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight hour day for women and young persons;

One day's rest in seven for all wage workers;

The eight hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries;

The abolition of the convict contract labor system; substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families;

Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products;

Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community;

The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age through the

adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use;

The development of the creative labor power of America by lifting the last load of illiteracy from American youth and establishing continuation schools for industrial education under public control and encouraging agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools;

The establishment of industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers;

We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress. . . .

BUSINESS

We believe that true popular government, justice and prosperity go hand in hand, and, so believing, it is our purpose to secure that large measure of general prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fostered by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.

We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all the citizens, not confined to individuals or classes, and that the test of corporate efficiency shall be the ability better to serve the public; that those who profit by control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

We therefore demand a strong National regulation of inter-State corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business. The concentration of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency. But the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system, unguarded and uncontrolled by the Nation, has placed in the hands of a few men enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power insufferable in a free Government and certain of abuse.

This power has been abused, in monopoly of National resources, in stock watering, in unfair competition and unfair privileges, and finally in sinister influences on the public agencies of State and Nation. We do not fear commercial power, but we insist that it shall be exercised openly, under publicity, supervision and regulation of the most efficient sort, which will preserve its good while eradicating and preventing its ill.

To that end we urge the establishment of a strong Federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in inter-State commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the Government now does for the National banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

Such a commission must enforce the complete publicity of those corporation transactions which are of public interest; must attack unfair competition, false capitalization and special privilege, and by continuous trained watchfulness guard and keep open equally all the highways of American commerce.

Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law, and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith; the investor will find security for his capital; dividends will be rendered more certain, and the savings of the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

Under such a system of constructive regulation, legitimate business, freed from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation, will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

We favor strengthening the Sherman Law by prohibiting agreement to divide territory or limit output; refusing to sell to customers who buy from business rivals; to sell below cost in certain areas while maintaining higher prices in other places; using the power of transportation to aid or injure special business concerns; and other unfair trade practices.

Questions

1. Why would a political party insist on making a "covenant" with voters? What does this "covenant" suggest about the way progressives viewed themselves and politics?
2. How does this platform propose to change the courts?
- ~~3. What does the section on social and industrial justice indicate about the United States in 1912?~~

3. How do these changes mentioned here, and in the reading "People's Populist Party Platform 1892",

compare to the Triangle chart you made in class? What has happened since 1892?

START

Progressivism was similar to the Populist Movement of the late 1800s. Both were reform movements that wanted to get rid of corrupt government officials and make government more responsive to people's needs. Both sought to eliminate the abuses of big business. Still, the two movements differed. At the forefront of Progressivism were middle-class people. They believed that highly educated leaders should use modern ideas and scientific techniques to improve society. Leaders of the Populist Movement, on the other hand, consisted mostly of farmers and workers.

Progressives Target a Variety of Problems Some Progressives thought that political reform was the most urgent need. For many women, the number one goal was winning the right to vote. Other Progressives considered honest government to be the most important goal. Reformers targeted city officials who built corrupt organizations, called political machines. The bosses of these political machines used bribery and violence to influence voters and win elections. They counted on the loyalty of city workers who looked the other way when they took public money for themselves. Bosses also helped people solve personal problems, which often kept voters loyal.

Corrupt and ineffective government combined with the booming growth of cities produced other problems. The people living in America's crowded cities needed paved streets, safe drinking water, decent housing, and adequate municipal services. The lack of adequate services led to wretched living conditions for the urban poor. Too often, dishonest business owners and politicians controlled municipal services. Bribes and shady deals made them rich while conditions for urban residents remained unsafe and little changed.

While some Progressives focused on government, others were worried about big business. As you have learned, wealthy industrialists took over businesses and built huge trusts that limited competition and raised prices. Middle-class Progressives wanted the government to "bust the trusts" and so create more economic opportunities for smaller businesses. Progressives complained that the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 was inadequate and ineffective in limiting the abuses of big business.

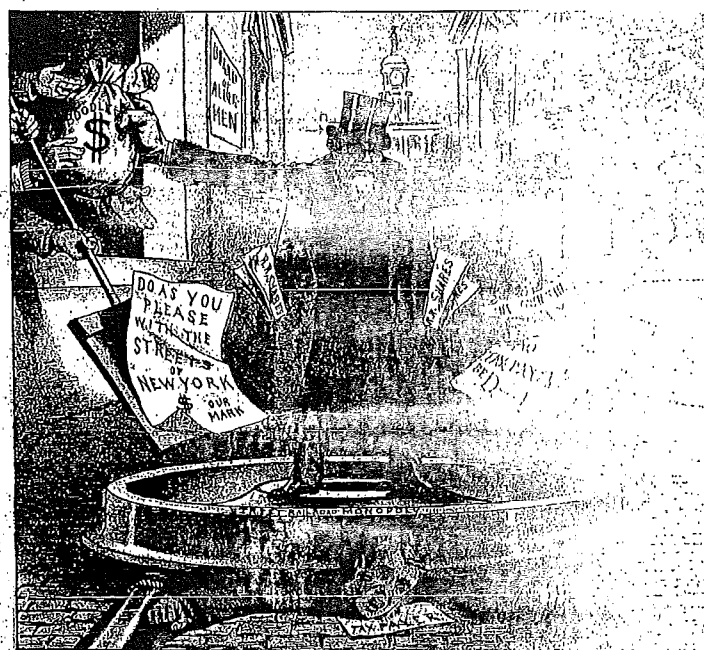
Other Progressive reformers, often motivated by their religious faith, sought to reduce the growing gap between the wealthy and the poor. Progressives attacked the harsh conditions endured by miners, factory workers, and other laborers. They wanted better conditions for poor people living in city slums. They wanted social welfare laws to help children, as well as government regulations to aid workers and consumers.

Checkpoint What problems did Progressive reformers hope to solve?

Directions
*use 3 different color highlighters or pens to underline or highlight changes @ the various levels of gov't.

Key

- ☐ National Level
- ☐ State Level
- ☐ Local Level.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Business and Government Corruption In the 1880s, John D. Rockefeller expanded his streetcar business by bribing New York City aldermen and other government officials.

1. What symbols represent the corruption of city government?
2. According to the cartoonist, what is the effect of the streetcar monopoly on the taxpayer?

Muckrakers Reveal the Need for Reform

Socially conscious journalists and other writers dramatized the need for reform. Their sensational investigative reports uncovered a wide range of ills afflicting America in the early 1900s. Even though Theodore Roosevelt agreed with much of what they said, he called these writers muckrakers because he thought them too fascinated with the ugliest side of things. (A muckrake is a tool used to clean manure and hay out of animals' stables.) The writers were angry at first but in time took up Roosevelt's taunting name as a badge of honor. The muckrakers' articles appeared in magazines and newspapers that entered millions of American homes. People across the nation were horrified by the conditions that were revealed to them.

Journalists Uncover Injustices One leading muckraker was Lincoln Steffens, managing editor at *McClure's*, a magazine known for uncovering social problems. In 1903, Steffens published *The Shame of the Cities*, a collection of articles on political corruption. His reports exposed how the government of Philadelphia let utility companies charge their customers excessively high fees. He showed how corrupt politicians won elections by bribing and threatening voters, and revealed how political corruption affected all aspects of life in a city.

Primary Source

"The visitor [to St. Louis] is told of the wealth of the residents, of the financial strength of the banks, and of the growing importance of the industries; yet he sees poorly paved, refuse-burdened streets, and dusty or mud-covered alleys; he passes a ramshackle firetrap crowded with the sick and learns that it is the City Hospital. . . . Finally, he turns a tap in the hotel to see liquid mud flow into [the] wash basin or bathtub."

—Lincoln Steffens and Claude Wetmore, "Corruption and Reform in St. Louis," *McClure's Magazine*, October 1902

Jacob Riis ▼



INFOGRAPHIC

EXPOSING HOW THE OTHER HALF LIVES

"Long ago it was said that 'one half of the world does not know how the other half lives.' It did not know because it did not care." Jacob Riis, believing that the "poor were the victims rather than the makers of their fate," used images and words to make the public confront the conditions of New York City's tenement slums.

Riis's 1890 book ▼

▲ A horse lies dead in a New York City street as children play nearby. A lack of city services forced slum-dwellers to live in unsanitary conditions.

Another influential muckraker was Jacob Riis, a photographer for the *New York Evening Sun*. Riis turned his camera on the crowded, unsafe, rat-infested tenement buildings where the urban poor lived. Between 1890 and 1903, he published several works, including *How the Other Half Lives* (see Infographic below), that shocked the nation's conscience and led to reforms.

Other outraged writers joined Riis and Steffens. In *The History of Standard Oil*, Ida Tarbell reported that John D. Rockefeller used ruthless methods to ruin his competitors, charge higher prices, and thereby reap huge profits. Others proclaimed the need to improve schools or warned of the breakdown of family life because mothers had to work long hours in factories. John Spargo focused attention on the dangerous and difficult lives of child workers. (See the Witness History at the beginning of this section.)

Novelists Defend the Downtrodden Fiction writers put a human face on social problems. They developed a new genre—the naturalist novel—that honestly portrayed human misery and the struggles of common people. Theodore Dreiser, a midwesterner raised in poverty, published *Sister Carrie* in 1900. His provocative novel traces the fate of a small-town girl drawn into the brutal urban worlds of Chicago and New York.

Naturalist novels became very popular. Frank Norris's *The Octopus* fascinated readers by dramatizing the Southern Pacific Railroad's stranglehold on struggling California farmers. In *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair related the despair of immigrants working in Chicago's stockyards and revealed the unsanitary conditions in the industry. (See an excerpt from the novel at the end of this section.) African American author Frances Ellen Watkins portrayed some of the struggles of black Americans in her 1892 novel *Iola Leroy*.

Checkpoint What role did journalists and other writers play in the Progressive Movement?

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *The Jungle: A View of Industrial America on the United States Witness History DVD* to learn more about city life in the industrial age.

Discovery
EDUCATION



▲ A New York City cobbler prepares for the Jewish Sabbath Eve dinner in a Ludlow Street coal cellar.

▼ Adults and children sew knee-pants in a New York tenement, many of which served as both homes and workshops.

"From earliest dawn until midnight, and muscle give out together," people toiled unprotected by the laws governing factory work.

Thinking Critically

Analyze Visuals What do Riis's images reveal about the conditions of city slums?

History Interactive*

For: A look at tenement life
Web Code: nep-0403

Protecting Children and Improving Education Progressives also tried to help children. Leading the effort was a lawyer named Florence Kelley. Kelley helped convince the state of Illinois to ban child labor, and other states soon passed similar laws. In 1902, Kelley helped form the National Child Labor Committee, which successfully lobbied the federal government to create the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912. This new agency examined any issue that affected the health and welfare of children. The agency still works to protect children today.

But progress in children's rights had a long way to go. In 1916, Congress passed the Keating-Owens Act, which banned child labor. However, two years later, the Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional. It was not until 1938 that Congress would end child labor for good.

Progressives also tried to better children's lives by improving education. A number of states passed laws that required children to attend school until a certain age. However, there were heated debates about what children should learn and how they should learn. Some argued that they should be taught only work skills. Others said they should learn to appreciate literature and music. Most educators agreed that girls should learn different things from boys.

Educator John Dewey criticized American schools for teaching children to memorize facts but not to think creatively. Dewey wanted schools to teach new subjects such as history and geography, as well as practical skills like cooking and carpentry. His ideas were not adopted at once, but in later years, many states put them into effect.

Progressives Help Industrial Workers In the early 1900s, the United States had the highest rate of industrial accidents in the world. Long hours, poor ventilation, hazardous fumes, and unsafe machinery threatened not only workers' health but also their lives. Each year some thirty thousand workers died on the job, while another half a million were injured.

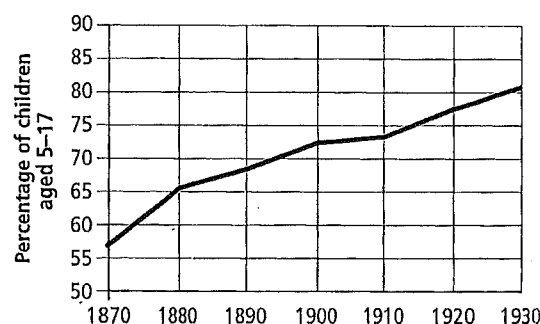
In March 1911, a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York City shocked Americans and focused attention on the need to protect workers. Workers in the factory had little chance to escape the raging fire because managers had locked most of the exits. The fire killed 146 workers, most of them young women. Many jumped from the windows in desperation. Inside the smoldering ruins, firefighters found many more victims, "skeletons bending over sewing machines."

After the blaze, outraged Progressives intensified their calls for reform. New York passed laws to make workplaces safer, and other cities and states followed suit. Many states also adopted workers' compensation laws, which set up funds to pay workers who were hurt on the job.

Progressives also persuaded some states to pass laws limiting the workday to 10 hours. However, their efforts suffered a blow in 1905 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Lochner v. New York* that such laws were unconstitutional.

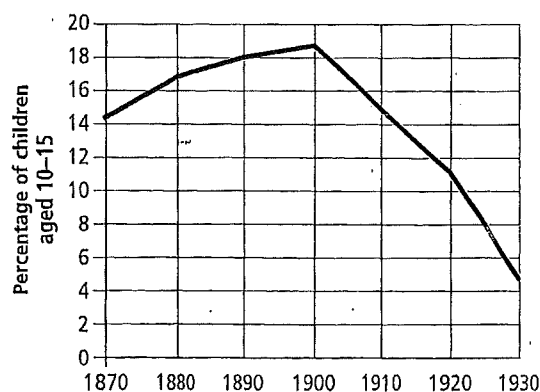
Checkpoint How did Progressives work to help the urban poor?

Children Enrolled in Public School, 1870–1930



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

Children Employed, 1870–1930



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Graph Skills During the Progressive Era, child labor declined sharply while school enrollment increased. According to the graphs, how did the percentage of children employed change from 1890 to 1920? How did school enrollment change during the same period?

Progressives Reform Society

The work of the muckrakers increased popular support for Progressivism and helped the Progressives bring about reforms. Progressive activists promoted laws to improve living conditions, public health, and schools. They urged government to regulate businesses. They believed that careful social planning would make American life better.

The Social Gospel Guides Reform Efforts Many reformers, like Walter Rauschenbusch, thought that Christianity should be the basis of social reform. A child of German immigrants, Rauschenbusch had become a Baptist minister. He blended ideas from German socialism and American Progressivism into a plan for building a better society. His book *Christianity and the Social Crisis* outlined what he called the **Social Gospel**. By following the Bible's teachings about charity and justice, he explained, people could make society "the kingdom of God."

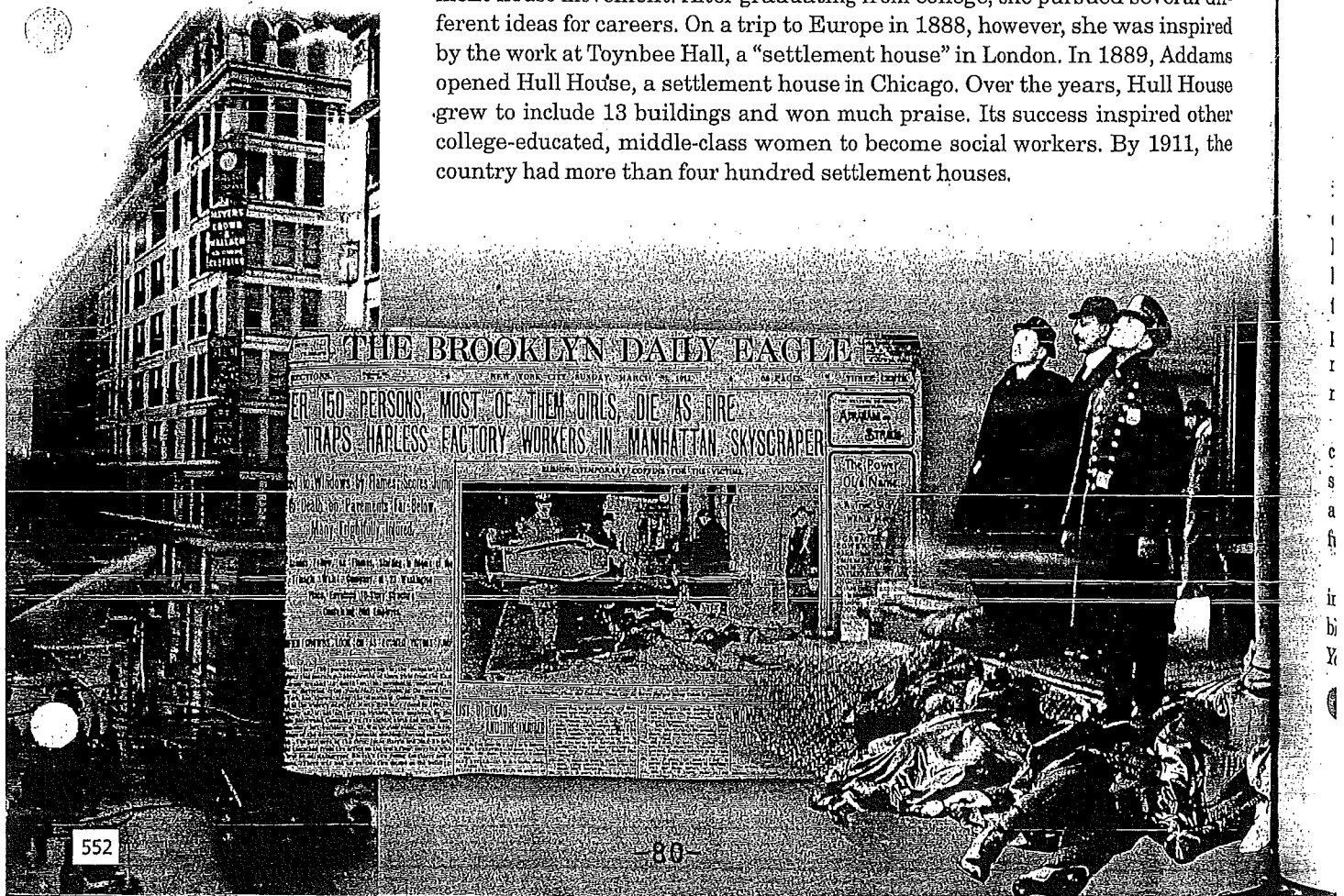
Many Protestant leaders followed Rauschenbusch's program. They began to urge the end of child labor and a shorter workweek. They also pushed for the federal government to limit the power of corporations and trusts.

Settlement House Workers Aid the Urban Poor An important goal of many Progressives was to improve the lives of poor people in the cities. One approach was the **settlement house**, a community center that provided social services to the urban poor. Settlement house workers gave mothers classes in child care and taught English to immigrants. They ran nursery schools and kindergartens. They also provided theater, art, and dance programs for adults.

A young woman named **Jane Addams** became a leading figure in the settlement house movement. After graduating from college, she pursued several different ideas for careers. On a trip to Europe in 1888, however, she was inspired by the work at Toynbee Hall, a "settlement house" in London. In 1889, Addams opened Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago. Over the years, Hull House grew to include 13 buildings and won much praise. Its success inspired other college-educated, middle-class women to become social workers. By 1911, the country had more than four hundred settlement houses.

The 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

Victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire lie at the feet of a police officer as he looks up at the deadly blaze. *How did the fire help or hurt Progressives' efforts to reform workplace conditions?*





Post-Hurricane Reforms in Galveston

- Galveston adopts a new commission form of government that spreads to other reform-minded cities.
- New city government builds a 17-foot-high seawall as protection against future storms.
- City government uses landfill to raise low-lying neighborhoods above sea level.

Devastated Galveston

The coastal city of Galveston, Texas, hit by a powerful hurricane, adopted a new form of government to lead the rebuilding. *What features would a city government need to handle a reconstruction job of the scale seen here?*

Reforming Government

Progressive reformers realized that they needed to reform the political process in order to reform society. They would have to free government from the control of political bosses and powerful business interests. They wanted to give people more control over their government and make government more effective and efficient in serving the public.

Reformers Improve City Government Just as the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire spurred reformers to action, so did another disaster. In 1900, a massive hurricane left the city of Galveston, Texas, in ruins. The greatest national calamity in American history, the hurricane killed more than 8,000 people. As an emergency measure, Galveston replaced its mayor and board of aldermen with a five-person commission. The commission form of government proved very efficient as the city carried out a tremendous rebuilding effort. The following year, Galveston decided to permanently adopt the commission form of government.

Known as the Galveston plan, many other cities decided to take up the commission form of government. By 1918, nearly 500 cities had adopted some form of the Galveston plan. Dayton, Ohio, and other cities modified the plan by adding a city manager to head the commission. The new city governments curbed the power of bosses and their political machines. The reform governments purchased public utilities so that electric, gas, and water companies could not charge city residents unfairly high rates.

Progressives Reform Election Rules Progressives also pushed for election reforms, taking up some Populist ideas. Traditionally, it was the party leaders who picked candidates for state and local offices. But in Wisconsin, reform governor Robert M. La Follette established a **direct primary**, an election in which citizens themselves vote to select nominees for upcoming elections. By 1916, all but four states had direct primaries.


Progressives also wanted to make sure that elected officials would follow citizen's wishes. To achieve this goal, they worked for three other political reforms: the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The **initiative** gave people the power to put a proposed new law directly on the ballot in the next election by collecting citizens' signatures on a petition. This meant that voters themselves could pass laws instead of waiting for elected officials to act. The **referendum** allowed citizens to approve or reject laws passed by a legislature. The **recall** gave voters the power to remove public servants from office before their terms ended.

Progressives won yet another political reform: They adopted the Populist call for the direct election of senators by voters, not state legislators. That reform became law in 1913, when the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was approved.

Progressive Governors Take Charge Dynamic Progressives became the leaders of several states, and chief among them was Robert La Follette of Wisconsin. Elected governor in 1900, "Fighting Bob" won the passage of many reform laws. Under his leadership, the Wisconsin state government forced railroads to charge lower fees and pay higher taxes. La Follette helped his state to improve education, make factories safer, and adopt the direct primary. Progressives called Wisconsin the "laboratory of democracy."

Hiram Johnson, governor of California, shattered the Southern Pacific Railroad's stranglehold on state government. He put in place the direct primary, initiative, referendum, and recall. He also pushed for another goal of some Progressives—planning for the careful use of natural resources such as water, forests, and wildlife.

Other Progressive governors included Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. Roosevelt worked to develop a fair system for hiring state workers and made some corporations pay taxes. Wilson reduced the railroads' power and pushed for a direct primary law. Both Roosevelt and Wilson later became President and brought reforms to the White House.

 **Checkpoint** How did Progressive reformers change local and state governments?

Vocabulary
dynamic—(dī NAM) energetic; relating to action
productive—(prō DUK TĪV) producing

SECTION

1

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
 Web Code: nea-0402

Comprehension

1. **Terms** Explain how each of the following terms is an example of a social or political reform.

- settlement house
- direct primary
- initiative
- referendum
- recall

2. **NoteTaking Reading Skill:**

Identify Details Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What areas did Progressives think were in need of the greatest reform?

Writing About History

3. **Quick Write: Compare and Contrast Points of View** In a narrative essay, you may compare and contrast points of view on an issue through the opinions of various individuals. Compare and contrast Social Darwinism with Social Gospel through the personalities of William Graham Sumner, Bill Sunday, and Dwight L. Moody. Use library or Internet resources to complete this assignment.

Critical Thinking

4. **Recognize Cause and Effect** What problems did muckrakers expose, and what effects did their work have on Progressive reform?
5. **Summarize** Describe William Rauschenbusch's idea of Social Gospel and the Progressive Movement.
6. **Identify Points of View** Which groups in U.S. society might have opposed Progressive reform? Explain.

In a speech on the New Freedom, Wilson outlined his aim to provide more opportunities—more freedom—for small businesses.

Primary Source “The man with only a little capital is finding it harder and harder to get into the field, more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow. Why? Because the laws of this country do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak.”

—Woodrow Wilson, “The New Freedom,” 1913

Though he did not win the majority of the popular vote, Wilson received more than four times the number of Electoral College votes that went to Roosevelt or to Taft. The pious and intellectual son of a Virginia minister, Wilson was the first man born in the South to win the presidency in almost 60 years.

Checkpoint How did Republican divisions help Wilson win the presidency?

Vocabulary Builder

intellectual—(ihn tuh LEHK choo uhl) *adj.* guided by thought; possessing great power of thought and reason

Wilson Regulates the Economy

President Wilson attacked what he called the “triple wall of privilege”—the tariffs, the banks, and the trusts—that blocked businesses from being free. Early in his first term, he pushed for new laws that would bring down those three walls and give the government more control over the economy.

Congress Lowers Tariffs and Raises Taxes First, Wilson aimed to protect workers. He began by trying to prevent big manufacturers from charging unfairly high prices to their customers. One way to do this was to lower the tariffs on goods imported from foreign countries, so that if American companies’ prices were too high, consumers could buy foreign goods. Wilson called a special session of Congress and convinced the group to pass the Underwood Tariff Bill, which cut tariffs.

The Underwood Tariff Act included a provision to create an income tax, which the recently passed **Sixteenth Amendment** gave Congress the power to do. The revenue from the income tax more than made up for the money the government lost by lowering tariffs on imports.

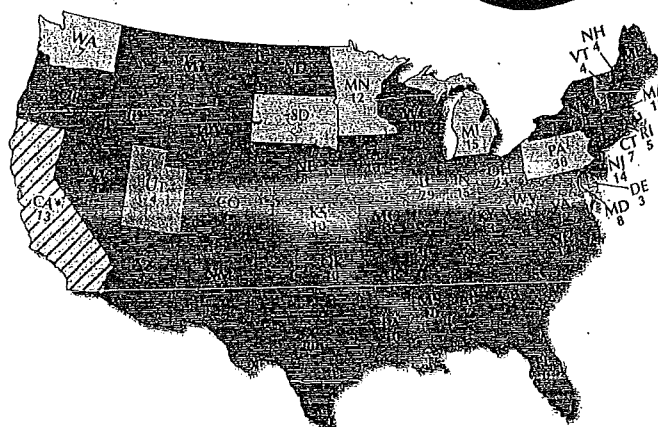
Federal Reserve Act Next, Wilson tried to reform the banking system. At the time, the country had no central authority to supervise banks. As a result, interest rates for loans could fluctuate wildly, and a few wealthy bankers had a great deal of control over the national, state, and local banks’ reserve funds. This meant that a bank might not have full access to its reserves when customers needed to withdraw or borrow money.

Wilson pushed Congress to pass the **Federal Reserve Act** (1913). This law placed national banks under the control of a Federal Reserve Board, which set up regional banks to hold the reserve funds from commercial banks. This system, still in place today, helps protect the American economy from having too much

Progressive Party button



Presidential Election of 1912



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
Woodrow Wilson (Democrat)	435	6,296,547	82	42
Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive)	88	4,118,571	17	27
William H. Taft (Republican)	8	3,486,720	1	23

*Two of California's electors voted for Wilson

money end up in the hands of one person, bank, or region. The Federal Reserve Board also sets the interest rate that banks pay to borrow money from other banks, and it supervises banks to make sure they are well run. Historians have called the Federal Reserve Act the most important piece of economic legislation before the 1930s.



Wilson Strengthens Antitrust Regulation Like Presidents before him, Wilson focused on trusts. Wilson agreed with Roosevelt that trusts were not dangerous as long as they did not engage in unfair practices. In 1914, he persuaded Congress to create the **Federal Trade Commission (FTC)**. Members of this group were named by the President to monitor business practices that might lead to monopoly. The FTC was also charged with watching out for false advertising or dishonest labeling. Congress also passed the **Clayton Antitrust Act** (1914), which strengthened earlier antitrust laws by spelling out those activities in which businesses could not engage.

These laws are still in effect today, protecting both businesses and consumers from abusive business activities. In recent years, the FTC has prosecuted companies that traded stocks dishonestly and fined companies that published false ads. The FTC also regulates buying on the Internet.


Progressive Era Legislation and Constitutional Amendments	
Legislation/Amendment	Effect
Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)	Outlawed monopolies and practices that restrained trade, such as price fixing
National Reclamation Act (1902)	Provided for federal irrigation projects by using money from the sale of public lands
Elkins Act (1903)	Imposed fines on railroads that gave special rates to favored shippers
Hepburn Act (1906)	Authorized the federal government to regulate railroad rates and set maximum prices for ferries, bridge tolls, and oil pipelines
Meat Inspection Act (1906)	Allowed the federal government to inspect meat sold across state lines and required inspection of meat-processing plants
Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)	Allowed federal inspection of food and medicine and banned the shipment and sale of impure food and the mislabeling of food and medicine
Sixteenth Amendment (1913)	Gave Congress the power to collect taxes on people's income
Seventeenth Amendment (1913)	Instituted the direct election of senators by the people of each state
Underwood Tariff Act (1913)	Lowered tariffs on imported goods and established a graduated income tax
Federal Reserve Act (1913)	Created the Federal Reserve Board to oversee banks and manage reserve funds
Federal Trade Commission Act (1914)	Established the Federal Trade Commission to monitor business practices, false advertising, and dishonest labeling
Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)	Strengthened the Sherman Antitrust Act by spelling out specific activities businesses could not do
Eighteenth Amendment (1919)	Banned the making, selling, and transporting of alcoholic beverages in the United States
Nineteenth Amendment (1920)	Gave women the right to vote in all elections

Workers' Rights Protected The Clayton Antitrust Act also ushered in a new era for workers by protecting labor unions from being attacked as trusts. Now, workers could organize more freely. Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) praised the new law as the "Magna Carta" of labor.

On the heels of these protections came the Workingman's Compensation Act (1916), which gave wages to temporarily disabled civil service employees. That same year, Wilson pushed for the Adamson Act to prevent a nationwide railroad strike, which would have stopped the movement of coal and food, leaving millions of Americans cold and hungry. Railroad union leaders insisted on the eight-hour day, but railroad managers would not accept it. Wilson called many company leaders to the White House, pleading with them to change their minds and avert a strike. When those efforts failed, he worked with Congress to pass the Adamson Act, which limited railroad employees' work days to eight hours.

However, Wilson did not always support organized labor, as a tragic incident known as the Ludlow Massacre showed. In the fall of 1913, coal miners in Ludlow, Colorado, demanded safer conditions, higher pay, and the right to form a union. When the coal company refused, they walked off the job. Evicted from company housing, the miners and their families set up in a tent city near

the mines. The strike continued through the winter. Then, on April 20, 1914, the Colorado National Guard opened fire on the tent city and set fire to the tents, killing some 26 men, women, and children. In the end, Wilson sent federal troops to restore order and break up the strike. The miners' attempt to form a union had failed.

 **Checkpoint** What policies did Wilson pursue in support of his New Freedom program?


Progressivism Leaves a Lasting Legacy

The political reforms of the Progressives had a lasting effect on the American political system. The initiative, referendum, and recall and the Nineteenth Amendment expanded voters' influence. Progressive reforms also paved the way for future trends. Starting in this period, the federal government grew to offer more protection to Americans' private lives while at the same time, gaining more control over peoples' lives.

The American economy today showcases the strength of the Progressives' legacy. Antitrust laws, the Federal Reserve Board, and the other federal agencies watch closely over the economy. The controls that Roosevelt and Wilson put in place continue to provide consumer protections. In later years, the government built on those actions to extend regulation over other aspects of business.

The Progressive years also greatly expanded the government's role in managing natural resources. Especially in the West, federal action on dams, national parks, and resource use remain major areas of debate. Those debates and decisions affect people in other regions as well. For example, while farmers in California, Arizona, or New Mexico worry about getting enough water to grow crops, the rest of the nation awaits the delivery of the food they grow.

It is true that many of the problems identified by the Progressives still plague us today. There are still dishonest sellers, unfair employment practices, and problems in schools, cities, the environment, and public health. However, the Progressive reformers passed on the idea that government can take action to help people fix those problems.

 **Checkpoint** What was the long-term impact of the Progressive Era on American life?

SECTION

5

Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0409

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Woodrow Wilson
- New Freedom
- Sixteenth Amendment
- Federal Reserve Act
- Clayton Antitrust Act

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Details Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What steps did Wilson take to increase the government's role in the economy?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Use Vivid Language

Choose an event discussed in this section. In one or two paragraphs, retell a portion of the event. Be sure to use vivid language and include details. Do additional research if needed.

Critical Thinking

4. Compare and Contrast Compare the goals and actions of Wilson's New Freedom similar to Roosevelt's New Nationalism? How were they different?

5. Draw Conclusions Describe how each of the following met Progressive goals: the Sixteenth Amendment, the Clayton Antitrust Act, the F.C.C.

6. Demonstrate Reasoned Judgment In which area do you feel government reforms had the greatest impact? Why?